

HARIJAN

12 pages

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[TWO ANNAS

Notes

For Middlemen

I am having pathetic letters from upper poor people bitterly complaining about grain merchants. The substance of these letters is, "why should we serve these merchants when they will not sell grain, though they have the stock, unless we pay prices higher than those fixed by the Government and in every case at prices beyond our reach? What is there left for us but to starve or loot?"

The complaint is just and universal. The Government is no doubt most answerable for this state of things. They have sent out grain and they do not know how to deal with the stock there is in the country. Prices must be regulated and there must be grain offices like post offices where people can buy grain like stamps. But people cannot starve while Government are learning wisdom. It is therefore the duty of the whole merchantile community to take the matter into their own hands and ensure a regular supply of grain to the poor at reasonable rates. The Government can't interfere with any such humanitarian effort. It will be a real help to them if the merchants perform what is their obvious duty. This requires voluntary co-operation of the whole merchantile community of India. But the beginning must be made with the provinces or even districts. The matter brooks no delay. Hunger knows no law and bread-or rather grain-riots are sure to break out all over the country if energetic benevolent measures are not taken in time.

Sevagram, 7-7-'42

A. I. S. A. and Kindred Institutions

The question of the connection with present politics of the members and the staff of the A. I. S. A.—A. I. V. I. A., The Hindustani Talimi Sangha and the kindred institutions was raised at the recent meeting of the A. I. S. A. held in Wardha and is being raised by numerous correspondents. It is better therefore for me to give my opinion in sufficient detail for the guidance of the persons concerned. These institutions, though some are creations of the Congress, are wholly autonomous and unconnected with Congress or other politics. Their mission is humanitarian, social, educational,

economic, or all combined. Their work is wholly constructive and creative. But it is true that most men and women in charge of them are Congressmen or Congress-minded, though they are open to all. There are cases of men unconnected with the Congress being found actively engaged in working or aiding them. These institutions must not lose this non-political character of theirs, if they are to retain their prestige, usefulness, and efficiency such as it is.

This is simple enough. But the question raised is complicated. It is clear that the members and the staff may not take part in any civil resistance movement and be still connected with these organisations. But what are they to do if they see a civil resister belaboured or a general lathi charge takes place in front of them? I say unhesitatingly that the workers in these institutions are bound to render such aid as they can at the moment without considering the consequences. This intervention is itself pure humanitarian work. Persons engaged in these institutions must not be cowards nor may their work be used as a halter round their necks making them useless for service. It is this fear of losing one's job or risking the safety of one's organisation that has played a large part in hindering our march to freedom. During the previous struggles all the most scrupulous care to avoid even the remotest suspicion of participation in politics did not save the men and these organisations from the attention of the authorities. Therefore the golden rule is to dare to do the right at any cost. But there should be no camouflage, no secrecy, no make-believe. Those who feel the urge to take part in the coming movement must resign before joining it. In all other respects the organisations should run their even course. Every moment they are building the temple of liberty and when it is won they will all be required as specialists for the numerous nation-building activities. Let them therefore diligently add to their knowledge and usefulness. During all these twenty-two years the true workers have proved their worth, they are responsible for creating and distributing lacs worth of material and lacs of rupees among lacs of poor men and women who, but for the work provided, would have lived in a state of semi-starvation.

Sevagram, 6-7-'42

M. K. G.

THE GROUNDWORK FOR INDEPENDENCE

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

Before good bread can be made the dough has to be kneaded well. Similarly adequate preparation has to proceed any system of organisation if such a system is to be effective. Great preparations are needed to attain and maintain independence through non-violent means.

As we had long been taught to look at economics through the window of money economy most of us associate capitalism with a method of production in which accumulated wealth is sunk in the equipment needed to produce goods. This description is partly correct. If this were all, capitalism would have died long ago as there is no means of propagating itself. For the continuity of its existence capitalism has to create a clientele for itself by setting up social customs and fashions which people will follow without questioning their rationale. The life of any organisation depends on its capacity thus to make a place for itself. Therefore, a more correct classification would be the one which sorts out the methods of production according to the manner by which a system seeks to control the environment and circumstances of human beings so as to justify its existence and to create and retain its market and custom. Such a classification will be human rather than monetary.

An Enslaving System

The shopkeeper would like to see the wants of the people increase, he would like to supply their needs himself, and the more helpless the people are to help themselves the better will his own business be. Therefore, his interest is identical with making his customers depend on him. To this end he will study their needs most minutely and attempt to supply them better than they themselves can. The ultimate result of this will be the customer will become emaciated, numbed and paralysed for lack of scope to develop his faculties and the shopkeeper will become fat, flourishing and resourceful. This is what is happening under centralised methods of production. We witness the degradation of races and nations who have become dependent politically and economically on those who supply their wants under various masks of trusteeship for civilising backward races. They give their victims an opiate that with the aid of factory production people can raise their standard of living, can buy standardised goods cheaply and have more of them. In the measure in which manufacturers succeed in doping their victims into thinking that it is to the customer's advantage to take their help to that extent only can the manufacturers thrive.

We see such helplessness taking alarming strides in countries like the U. S. A. where a woman need not even cook her food. Everything is done for her. She can walk into a shop and get her soup tablets, meat and fish courses prepared and tinned, freshly made puddings and sweets, and well preserved fruits. All the trouble she needs to take is to set the table and dine. We find this trend

in our country. Quaker oats, shredded wheat, corn flakes, jams, marmalade and hundred and one things are becoming more and more common, and half-baked medical men advocate these to ill-educated women and repeat the salesman's slogans about these food articles being richer in nutrition than home made wheat *dhalia*, seasonal fruits, etc. If this goes on, in a few years we may find our bazars stocked with chapaties, cooked dal and rice made in England and sent out in attractive containers and our ambitious medical men may tell us that these very articles prepared in the English climate and latitude have special food values as compared with food made in India! Women who have more money than sense will patronise them. In time the art of cooking will be forgotten, but the London manufacturers will flourish. We need only look around with our eyes open to know that this is no fairy tale. The capitalistic structure of centralised production rests on the tombstones of its customers. Therefore, judged from the point of view of its effect on human beings, centralised production may be appropriately described as an enslaving, parasitic, or as Tagore would have it, cannibalistic system. Once the victim realises the true situation, bestirs himself and sets about supplying all his own needs the capitalist's reign is doomed.

An Emancipating System

As against this, a method of production and consumption which will awaken the people to realise their own possibilities will be emancipatory, creative or evolutive system. Our villages can meet their wants in two ways: 1. provide what they need by their own efforts, and 2. forego such of what they need as cannot be supplied by themselves. The reaction will be progressive self-reliance and self-advancement, though in the beginning the so-called standard of living may appear low. Our goal is a state where the villagers will supply all their own requirements and that of the city people. Their effort to do so will bring employment to millions and make for a better circulation of money. This is the only permanent way of dispelling poverty and creating wealth.

Freedom

What shall we do with political freedom even if it is given as a gift? It will be meaningless as we shall not be able to turn it to good account. As our people learn to produce all that is needed by the country they will acquire self-reliance which is the basis of freedom, while dependence on others is the essence of slavery. When the villagers have become self-reliant, and attain freedom, they will be able to look after themselves. Their panchayats will function, they will settle their own disputes and banish litigation, they will control their water-supply and sanitation, build their own roads, run their schools and to an extent tax themselves and thus govern themselves. If we are not prepared to take up all this responsibility our second state will be worse than the first.

As a corollary to this, such discipline and initiative as may be generated by self-directing and

regulating villages will enable us to put up a non-violent barrage of defence against any foreign aggression, without submitting to the humiliating experience of begging other nations to help defend our own hearths and homes.

GURU GOVIND SINGH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

At last after diligent search Mahadev Desai and others have traced the writing in which I have referred to Guru Govind Singh. It appears in *Young India* of 9th April, 1925. It is headed 'My Friend the Revolutionary'. I would commend it to my Sikh friends and, for that matter, others the whole of the article. It is seasonable and they will profit by it, whether they accept or reject the views propounded in it. Here I must content myself with only relevant extracts from that article. Here they are :

"One of your objections against the revolutionaries is that their movement is not mass-movement, consequently the mass at large will be very little benefitted by the revolution, for which we are preparing. That is indirectly saying that we shall be most benefitted by it. Is it really what you mean to say? Do you believe that those persons who are ever ready to die for their country—those mad lovers of their country—I mean the revolutionaries of India in whom the spirit of *Nishkama Karma* reigns, will betray their motherland and secure privileges for a life—this trifling life? It is true that we will not drag the mass just now in the field of action, because we know that it is weak; but when the preparation is complete we shall call them in the open field. We profess to understand the present Indian psychology full well, because we daily get the chance of weighing our brethren along with ourselves. We know that the mass of India is after all Indian, it is not weak by itself but there is want of efficient leaders; so when we have begot the number of leaders required by constant propaganda and preaching, and the arms, we shall not shrink from calling, and if necessary, dragging the mass in the open field to prove that they are the descendants of Shivaji, Ranajit, Pratap and Govind Singh. Besides we have been constantly preaching that the mass is not for the revolution but the revolution is for the mass. Is it sufficient to remove your prejudice in this connection?"

I neither say nor imply that the revolutionary benefits if the masses do not. On the contrary, and as a rule, the revolutionary never benefits in the ordinary sense of the word. If the revolutionaries succeed in attracting, not 'dragging', the masses to them, they will find that the murderous campaign is totally unnecessary. It sounds very pleasant and exciting to talk of 'the descendants of Shivaji, Ranajit, Pratap and Govind Singh'. But is it true? Are we all descendants of these heroes in the sense in which the writer understands it? We are their countrymen, but their descendants are the military classes. We may in future be able to obliterate caste, but today it persists, and therefore the claim put up by the writer cannot in my opinion be sustained.

"Last of all, I shall ask you to answer these questions: Was Guru Govind Singh a misguided patriot because he believed in warfare for noble cause? What will you

like to say about Washington, Garibaldi and Lenin? What do you think of Kamal Pasha and De Valera? Would you like to call Shivaji and Pratap well meaning and sacrificing physicians who prescribed arsenic when they should have given fresh grape-juice? Will you like to call Krishna Europeanised because he believed also in the *vinasha of dushkritas*?"

This is a hard or rather awkward question. But I dare not shirk it. In the first instance Guru Govind Singh and the others whose names are mentioned did not believe in secret murder. In the second, these patriots knew their work and their men, whereas the modern Indian revolutionary does not know his work. He has not the men, he has not the atmosphere, that the patriots mentioned had. Though my views are derived from my theory of life I have not put them before the nation on that ground. I have based my opposition to the revolutionaries on the sole ground of expedience. Therefore, to compare their activities with those of Guru Govind Singh or Washington or Garibaldi or Lenin would be most misleading and dangerous. But by test of the theory of non-violence I do not hesitate to say that it is highly likely that, had I lived as their contemporary and in the respective countries, I would have called every one of them a misguided patriot, even though a successful and brave warrior. As it is, I must not judge them. I disbelieve history so far as details of acts of heroes are concerned. I accept broad facts of history and draw my own lessons for my conduct. I do not want to repeat it in so far as the broad facts contradict the highest laws of life. But I positively refuse to judge men from the scanty material furnished to us by history. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Kamal Pasha and De Valera too I cannot judge. But for me as a believer in non-violence out and out they cannot be my guides in life in so far as their faith in war is concerned. I believe in Krishna perhaps more than the writer. But my Krishna is the Lord of the Universe, the creator, preserver and destroyer of us all. He may destroy because He creates. But I must not be drawn into a philosophical or religious argument with my friends. I have not the qualifications for teaching my philosophy of life. I have barely qualifications for practising the philosophy I believe in. I am but a poor struggling soul yearning to be wholly good—wholly truthful and wholly non-violent in thought word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true. I admit, and assure my revolutionary friends, it is a painful climb, but the pain of it is a positive pleasure for me. Each step upward makes me feel stronger and fit for the next. But all that pain and the pleasure are for me. The revolutionaries are at liberty to reject the whole of my philosophy. To them I merely present my own experiences as a co-worker in the same cause even as I have successfully presented them to the Ali Brothers and many other friends. They can and do applaud whole-heartedly the action of Mustafa Kamal Pasha and possibly De Valera and Lenin. But they realise with me that India is not like Turkey or Ireland or Russia and that revolutionary activity is suicidal at this stage of the country's life at any rate, if not for all time, in a country so vast, so hopelessly divided and with the masses so deeply sunk in pauperism and so fearfully terror-struck."

I reverted to the same subject in another article written a short time after, from which I need take only the following lines:

"My belief about the Sikh Gurus is that they were all deeply religious teachers and reformers, that they were all Hindus, and that Guru Govind Singh was one of the greatest defenders of Hinduism. I believe too that he drew the sword in its defence. But I cannot judge his actions nor can I use him as my model so far as his resort to the sword is concerned."

It must be clear even to him who runs that I never applied the word, 'misguided patriot' to the Great Guru and that I have not written a word in disrespect or of which I have any reason to be ashamed or to repent. I abide by every word I have said in that article. I hope that now that the source of the mischief has been traced it will abate entirely and the Sikhs will count me, though a humble Hindu, as a fellow devotee of the Panth. Sevagram, 4-7-'42

HARIJAN

July 12

1942

TO MUSLIM CORRESPONDENTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"How can you think of a mass movement for liberation without first closing with Muslims?" ask Muslim correspondents whose letters fill my file. I used at one time to think like my correspondents. But I see that for the moment I cannot reach the Muslim mind. The Muslim League blocks my way. I try to read the League newspapers. They give me a peep into the League mind in so far as they represent it. In their opinion I am thoroughly untrustworthy. Even my services during the Khilafat days wear for them a sinister meaning. I am quite clear in my mind that this is a passing phase. I am not aware of having done a single disservice to any Muslim cause or a Muslim person. Thank God, even today I claim numerous Muslim friends.

I do not know how to get rid of the distrust. "Give Pakistan", say my critics. I answer, "It is not in my giving." If I felt convinced of the rightness of the demand, I should certainly work for it side by side with the League. But I do not. I would like to be convinced. Nobody has yet told me all its implications. Those that are described in the anti-Pakistan Press are too terrible to contemplate. But I cannot take them from the opposition. Only the protagonists know what they want and mean. I plead for such an exposition. Surely Pakistanis want to convert the opposition, not to force them? Has an attempt been ever made to meet the opposition in a friendly manner and to convert them? I am sure the Congress is willing to be converted, let alone me.

But what I am to do meanwhile? I feel that now is the time for India to play an effective part in the fortunes of the war, if she becomes free from British servitude. I am convinced too that nothing

stands in the way of that freedom except British unwillingness to give up India as the happy hunting-ground for the British that she has been for three centuries. If she gives up India, she might as well give up fighting, says the imperialist. If such is the case, what is all this war for? The original fighters are Great Britain and Germany. Was India the hidden stake between the two? This is all speculation I know. The truth will be known presently. Thinking Indians cannot idle away their time. I think that even a large number, if not all of us, prepared to undergo any sacrifice that may fall to our lot, would impress the British rulers that they can no longer hold India as a British possession. I believe too that such a number is available. Needless to say, their action must be non-violent, irrespective of their belief, as even a military man's has often to be, on behalf of his cause. The fight has been conceived in the interest of the whole of India. The fighters will gain no more than the poorest Indian. They will fight, not to seize power but to end the foreign domination, cost what it may.

What will happen after, if ever we reach that stage, will depend upon how we act when the all-powerful British hand is withdrawn. We may quarrel among ourselves or we may adjust our quarrels and agree to set up ordered rule on behalf of the people. It may be a democratic constitution or unadulterated autocracy or oligarchy. The conception is not that of a settlement with the British Government. That could happen only if there is a settlement between the principal parties, and as a preliminary the Congress and the League. But that so far as I can see is not to be.

Therefore the only settlement with the British Government can be that their rule should end leaving India to her fate. Thus assuming that the British leave, there is no government and no constitution, British or other. Therefore there is no Central Government. Militarily the most powerful party may set up its rule and impose it on India, if the people submit. Muslims may declare Pakistan and nobody may resist them. Hindus may do likewise, Sikhs may set up their rule in territories inhabited by them. There is no end to the possibilities. And to all this idle speculation let me suggest one more addition. The Congress and the League being best organised parties in the country may come to terms and set up a provisional government acceptable to all. And this may be followed by a duly elected Constituent Assembly.

The movement has only one aim—that is of displacing the British Power. If that happy event comes about and if it is followed by a stable government, it will most assuredly decide the fate of the war—I shall hope in a non-violent manner. India can show no other strength during this war at any rate. Why should not Muslims who believe in Pakistan, but also believe in Independent India join such a struggle? If on the other hand they believe in Pakistan through British aid and under British aegis, it is a different story. I have no place in it.

Sevagram, 6-7-'42

OUR ORDERED ANARCHY

In the midst of a world of woes the following account of conditions and happenings in Orissa may be passed over lightly by the casual reader. But though the blood and thunder may be less than that of the war fronts, the root tragedy it brings to view is deeper. That tragedy is perpetrated by one belligerent nation on another, whereas this tragedy is perpetrated by a so-called protecting government on its subjects.

I came to Orissa on May 11th. Since then I have been almost continually moving about the province, in the company of Babu Harekrishna Mehtab, visiting places where people are in trouble and distress, owing to the present crisis. We have toured through the villages, putting up as we went along, in the peasants' little homes and we have had public and private meetings in big towns, besides which I have had interviews and discussions with government officials of all grades from the Chief Secretary to village clerks. The following description is based on these experiences.

It is difficult to know where to begin and on what to concentrate in such a tale of confusion and suspicion. So in order to give a living picture to the reader, I will depict in detail one scene in the drama, and make but a passing mention of the rest.

On the day of my arrival we started straight off for a tour of the coastal area where the little villages are dotted about like islands in a vast sea of brown fields. When the rains come these lands go under water, and the villages become islands indeed. Throughout these flood areas, all along the coast, the villagers have been ordered to immobilize their boats. At every place where we went, the villagers told us that to be without their boats in the rains would literally mean death. There is no other means of getting about. Even for answering the calls of nature it is necessary to go in a boat. The villagers were in despair. "Are we then to be killed even before the Japanese invasion?" they asked. "No, you must gather up courage when the floods come and resist such an order." What else could we say?

After this experience, we were faced with the problem of the canal districts. Here all the canals have been kept dry by order of the military authorities, lest the waterways might be of use to the Japanese. Each year the canals are dried off for a certain period; but before cutting off the water, notice is given, and the villagers have time to fill up their tanks and other water-supplies. This time no notice was given, and the villagers were left high and dry. When the usual season came for letting in the water nothing was done, and the canals have remained dry. The working of the land has been all upset and the villagers have been put to great hardship. Appeals have been sent up to the government, but the reply is always that the matter has been referred to the military department, from where no answer comes. One wonders how much, if at all, these orders have been thought out. When I look at these broad dry canal beds

they strike me as more serviceable for bringing up tanks and other heavy equipment, than they would be if full of water.

After drying up the canals the government got the bright idea of sending round the province 50 propagandists for the "grow more food" campaign. "But what is this!" exclaimed the unfortunate propagandists, "the canals are all dried up." "O yes, the canals are dry, you had better appeal to the military department."

Now at last the rains have begun.

In the cities there is an atmosphere of helplessness and panic, specially since the government notice of May 24th prohibiting the formation of any volunteer organizations for self-protection or any groups for patrolling, except under government authority and guidance. This notice has had a very bad effect, especially amongst the merchants who do not dare to keep proper stocks of food. Cuttack, which will be completely isolated if the bridges are blown up, is running now-a-days, on a fortnight's supply and Puri, which gets its stocks from Cuttack, is still more hand-to-mouth. There the merchants' troubles are further increased by the fact that bookings for goods between Cuttack and Puri are often closed without notice, and for indefinite periods. Reasoning and appeals are at present being tried for getting the government to revise its policy regarding self-protection.

And now for the scene which I want to depict in detail, and which, indeed, is not yet finished. As I write these lines I am sitting in the village where the main tragedy occurred only six days ago.

While staying in Cuttack I began to hear accounts of an aerodrome that is being prepared in this area, and the government plans for evacuating several villages around the site. I decided to go and have a look at the place, and about the end of May spent two days with the District Congress workers bicycling around the area. What I saw and heard was very disquieting, and as soon as our programme would enable us, I planned to return with Mehtab Babu, who was engaged elsewhere at the time of this first visit.

In the meantime we put the matter before the Chief Secretary, the Collector and subordinate government officials. They listened sympathetically, especially the Collector, who expressed himself anxious to do everything he could, within reason, to alleviate the plight of the villagers. The position was briefly as follows: Lands for the site of an aerodrome were requisitioned last December. Most of the land is bare, rocky upland, the property of a zemindar. Round the edge of this upland many villages are situated, and a few of their fields were also requisitioned. The chief difficulty, however, arose when the military department announced its intention of taking possession of eight of these villages, and then too, before the rains. Orders for evacuation were served only in the beginning of June. The civil administration took up the military instructions and proceeded to warn the villagers that they must go to sites two to three miles off which would be allotted to them. The villages were

measured and evaluated for compensation, and everything pointed to an immediate evacuation. At the same time the new sites had not been prepared, not even wells or tanks had been dug, the compensation fixed upon was quite inadequate and the monsoon was now rapidly approaching, when all building operations would become impossible. The villagers were desperate and said they would rather die of bombs in their homes, or risk the perils of attempted evacuation by force, than go out into the rains to die of exposure and want.

Alongside this evacuation dilemma, the problem of imported labour had been unnecessarily created. Though large quantities of local labour were available some 3,000 labourers had been imported from Hyderabad (Deccan), U. P., Travancore and Cochin. These were paid Re. 1/- a day, along with food, and the local labourers were paid, for the same work, 6 annas per day with no extras. This naturally led to heart-burning and then, added to this, the new labourers were housed in camps built right alongside, and in some cases half inside, these villages. For this huge imported population, as well as for the cement-work and road-making in the aerodrome, no special water-supply was provided for; for all purposes the wells and tanks of the villagers were drawn upon. For sanitation no kind of arrangement was made. And then, finally, as if occasion for frictions and fracas were not enough, toddy-shops were added. One big village was burdened with no less than 1,500 Travancore and Cochin labourers and a toddy-shop right up against the side of the village. The inhabitants sent up a petition to the Collector, but before it could pass through the red-tape labyrinths of officialism, the explosion came.

On the morning of June 14th, for a trifling reason, the outside labourers rushed into the village with sticks, stones and fire, and before anyone could bring them under control, 40 villagers had been wounded, 258 rooms including bazar shops had been burnt and looted and 88 families rendered homeless and propertyless.

We heard the news first through the Collector who had just received the information, when we went to him in Cuttack for a discussion on the evacuation problem. So here was a new problem, or rather the fruits of the other, in bitterest form! Investigation, and temporary relief had to be organized forthwith. The Marwaris, as is their wont, were first in the field with distribution of grains, and government servants of all grades came rushing in. The law is now going through its tortuous channels of identification, attestation, application, evaluation and the rest. In these matters, I am happy to say, the government officials are willingly taking our help.

It is to be hoped that ultimately substantial relief will be granted, for the villagers have been the helpless victims of gross mismanagement and confusion of government departments, civil and military. But who is to blame? Both the Collector (Indian) and the Flying Corps Officer (British) in command at the aerodrome, are good, sincere

people, from whom I have received immediate sympathy and help in all matters connected with the villagers. It is the system, the foreign system, the foreign language, the foreign rule in all its ugliness, bound up in prestige and red-tape and giving shelter to all sorts of imprincipled, time-serving officials, contractors and other hangers-on.

In the midst of this tragedy the evacuation problem had to be immediately settled as the rains are upon us, and I am thankful to say that, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of the Collector and the military officer in command, the evacuation has been postponed for the duration of the rains, and the question of compensation will be reconsidered in detail. At the same time it has been agreed that as much local labour as possible should be employed, at 12 annas per day (instead of 6), that the outside labourers should be reduced to a minimum, and that those, if any, that remain shall now be removed to an isolated camp, out of direct touch with any of the villages.

The cause of the looting and arson is still under investigation, but one fact alone, which has come to light, makes matters sufficiently clear. A number of these coolies, especially those from Travancore, are criminals released from jail for sending out in labour corps. Many of them have tough records of crime to their account. To put such men in the company of hundreds of rough labourers, pay them Re. 1/- and food per day, and station them in an open camp by the side of a large village with a well stocked bazar, was to invite certain trouble.

And now the village is a pitiable sight. The burnt houses stand gaunt and roofless, with nothing left but the blackened mud walls. Inside not a burnable thing remains. Furniture, grain, clothes, everything except iron fittings, tool heads and utensils, have vanished into smoke and ashes.

From house to house, from quarter to quarter I went, seeing the same heart-rending destruction. In one little home the owner, with shaking hands and trembling voice, showed me the burnt out room where his child had been born only the day before the attack. The next morning the young mother had to rise up and fly as best she could with the baby in her arms. "And there," he said, pointing to a corner in the yard, "our goat was burnt to death. The cow escaped, but what has happened to the calf we do not know. It is lost or killed." Then he showed me the black heaps of smouldering rice and pulses—his precious little stocks of food to see him and his family through these hard times—all gone.

Such is the ruin and sorrow that administrative mismanagement and muddle can bring upon innocent people in the twinkling of an eye!

20-6-'42

Mira

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"FOR WHITES ONLY"

[Pearl Buck is the only American woman to win the Nobel Prize for literature, awarded for her great novels forming a kind of Chinese saga — *The Good Earth* and others. She lived for seventeen years in Nanking, and has now written a novel *Dragon Seed* describing the fall and rape of the city after the Japanese assault. She is one of the editors of *Asia* which may be said to be devoted exclusively to the cause of democracy for all peoples — white, black or yellow. Her appeal to Americans to put their own house in order in the following article condensed from the March number of *Asia* is timely and applies to Britain as well. The caption of her article is *Tinder for Tomorrow*, meaning thereby that unless the Allies give visible evidence of their fight being not only for the white people but for all the races they have suppressed, that fact in itself will supply enough material for a fiercer conflagration tomorrow. The extracts are reproduced here to show that Gandhiji's demand for withdrawal has the support of the best mind of America. M. D.]

Worse than Folly

.....Race prejudice continues unabated among white people today, the Japanese are saying. Tokyo radio programs daily send their broadcast over Asia in their campaign to drive out the white man. They dwell upon white exploitation of colored troops and cite mistreatment of Filipinos by the American military and similar treatment of Indian troops by the English.

.....The truth is that the white man in the Far East has too often behaved without wisdom or justice to his fellow man. It is worse than folly — it is dangerous today — not to recognise the truth, for in it lies the tinder for tomorrow. Who of us can doubt it who has seen a white policeman beat a Chinese coolie in Shanghai, a white sailor kick a Japanese in Kobe, an English captain lash out with his whip at an Indian vender — who of us, having seen such oriental sights or heard the common contemptuous talk of the white man in any colored country, can forget the fearful bitter hatred in the colored face and the blaze in the dark eyes? Who of us can be so stupid as not to see the future written there? The most dangerous human stupidity has been that of the white race in the baseless prejudice through which even the meanest of white creatures has felt he could despise a king if his skin were dark. Yet, if this stupidity were limited to the mean, how easily it might be cured! But among us even some who are able, even some who are good, are sometimes so blind.

The effect therefore of this Japanese propaganda cannot be lightly dismissed. It lies uneasy in the minds and memories of many at this moment who are loyally allied with Britain and the United States, in the minds and memories of colored peoples of Asia. Yes, and it lies uneasy, too, in the minds and memories of many colored citizens of the United States who cannot deny the charge and must remain loyal in spite of it. For such minds realize that, though Nazism may give them nothing but death, yet the United States and Britain have given them too little for life in the past and not even promises

for the future. Our colored allies proceed to war against the Axis not deceived or in ignorance. They know that it may not be the end of the war for them even when Hitler has gone down and Nazism is crushed and Japan returned to her isles again. The colored peoples know that for them the war for freedom may have to go on against the very white men at whose side they are now fighting.

Fulfil Conditions Today

We must realize, we citizens of the United States, and this whether Britain realizes it or not, that a world based on former principles of empire and imperial behavior is now impossible. It cannot exist. We must make clear our determination for real democracy for all peoples with mutual responsibility demanded of all to fulfil its conditions. Nor can we postpone such decision for democracy by saying, "Let's win this war first." We cannot even win this war without convincing our colored allies — who are most of our allies — that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples. The deep patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will.

.....But if they are not soon convinced, and by unmistakable means, of the sincere democratic determination of the English and Americans, if they fear that they must be reduced one day to fighting for themselves, there will be many thoughtful men and women who will declare openly what they are now thinking and saying secretly, "Will it not be better for us to come to terms, not with Hitler, who is after all a white man of the most arrogant type, but with Japan, and utilize the military and modern resources of that country to free us from white rule?"

It takes no great practical sense for any colored people to see that even if Japan took the position over them of conqueror it would be easier to get rid of one victor than of several. There could have been nothing reassuring or comforting to our Asiatic allies in the closing words of Churchill's first speech in Washington, "The British and American peoples will, for their own safety and the good of all, walk together side by side in majesty, justice and peace." An England, a United States, "walking together in majesty", can only mean to the colored peoples a formidable white imperialism more dangerous to them than anything even a victorious Japan can threaten.

Disprove Japan's Charges

The United States and England are at a very critical moment in this War. Our allies, India, China, the Philippines and Malaya, are waiting for us, whether they tell us so publicly or not, to make clear the stand of the white peoples toward them. Are we all-out for democracy, for total justice, for total peace based on human equality, or are the blessings of democracy to be limited to white people only? The answer must be made clearly and quickly.

To evade the question, to delay the answer, is to reply in the negative, and the United States must now take the lead.

For we cannot now trust to English minds however we admire them, nor to English leadership, however strong. We must think and act for ourselves. If our allies cannot be assured, America may find herself deserted in the Pacific when she supremely needs allies there. It is only natural that England should think first and most of Hitler, the wolf at the door. It is to be expected that English minds cannot take seriously enough the full threat of Japan also to us. Why should they when Americans themselves have not taken Japan seriously enough and do not now take any Asiatic people seriously enough? Pearl Harbor and Manila are today awful witnesses of our ignorance. There will be other witnesses as stern before we are done with this war. If England cannot understand fully our danger in the Pacific, let us not ourselves be misled. We Americans face the Orient as well as Europe, and we face it not as the ruler of a great subject people held under military power. We face an Asia in which we have no long-established power. It is too dangerous for us to accept any estimate of the Pacific except our own. We must for our own sakes give our allies in the Far East confidence in our leadership toward full democracy.

But can the United States provide such leadership? This also the Far Eastern allies are asking. Japan is busily declaring that we cannot. She is declaring in the Philippines, in China, in India, Malaya and even Russia that there is no basis for hope that colored peoples can expect any justice from the people who rule in the United States, namely, the white people. For specific proof the Japanese point to our treatment of our own colored people, citizens of generations in the United States. Every lynching, every race riot, gives joy to Japan. The discriminations of the American army and navy and the air forces against colored soldiers and sailors, the exclusion of colored labor in our defense industries and trade unions, all our social discriminations, are of the greatest aid today to our enemy in Asia, Japan. "Look at America," Japan is saying to millions of listening ears. "Will white Americans give you equality?"

Who can reply with a clear affirmative? The persistent refusal of Americans to see the connection between the colored American and the colored peoples abroad, the continued, and it seems even wilful, ignorance which will not investigate the connection, are agony to those loyal and anxious Americans who know all too well the dangerous possibilities.

Declare for Democracy Today

..... Our ignorance of how they feel is dangerous as the ignorance of England is dangerous, as the ignorance of France was dangerous even to destruction. But ours is a peculiar danger, for one tenth of our own nation is colored. Our relation to the colored peoples and democracy does not

even lie so far off as Africa or India. It is just outside our doors, it is inside our homes. The deepest loyalties today are not national.

But even if Americans realize our danger, our responsibility, our peculiar position, can we produce the necessary leadership for democracy? What is this division between our belief in democracy for all and our practice of democracy only for some? It is not hypocrisy. We Americans are not hypocritical except in small, amusing ways. Talk to any dirt American and he honestly believes in equality and justice and in giving everybody democratic rights. But mention to him the colored man and you will not believe your own ears. This cannot be the same man talking, you will say. No, the colored man cannot have the same treatment as the white man, it seems. "Why?" you inquire. The white American scratches his head. "Well, it just don't work that way," he says, and thereby gives huge comfort to our present enemies, the Japanese.

What is the matter with this American? It is clear enough. He suffers from what is called in psychology a split personality. He is two distinct Americans. One of him is a benevolent, liberty-loving, just man. The other one of him is a creature who may or may not be benevolent but who is certainly undemocratic in his race attitudes, and who, on this subject, throws justice and human equality to the winds as completely as any Fascist.

... Russia is justly proud of her freedom from race prejudices. But let Americans be sure of this — unless we can declare ourselves whole for total democracy now, we shall lose our chance to make the world what we want it to be, we shall lose even our place in the world, whatever our military victories are. For most of the people in the world today are colored.

How can we integrate ourselves for democracy? The first step toward unifying a split personality is to realize that there is the split. The next step is to reject the undesired self. We must be willing to see that our inner division has the gravest relation now to other events, to the success of this war for us, to world events which will shape an entirely new era. Whether it will be a golden age of democracy depends entirely on whether we choose democracy now.

We know this better than we are willing to acknowledge. It must be sternly said that it is the white peoples who have the deepest race prejudices. This is in itself a sign of insecurity and fear. And we do well to be afraid if we intend to persist blindly in our prejudices. If we plan to persist as we are, then we are fighting on the wrong side in this war. We belong with Hitler. For the white man can no longer rule in this world unless he rules by totalitarian military force. Democracy cannot so rule. Democracy, if it is to prevail at this solemn moment in human history, can do so only if it purges itself of that which denies democracy, if it dares to act as it believes.

Pearl Buck

CASUAL NOTES

More War Effort

If the Cripps proposals can be described as the British Government's special contribution in India to their tremendous war-effort, the latest announcement of the new members of the expanded Viceroy's Council and of the new names to fill departed men's posts must be considered to be another contribution of a piece with the previous one.

A Council expanded to ten times its size with similar names cannot turn it into a Council of Free India. And whether one thinks in terms of violence or non-violence none but a Free India can win the war. Mr. Hore-Belisha writing as long ago as the occupation of the Andamans by the Japanese—the situation has very considerably worsened for the British since then—uttered the barest truth in these words: "With the authentic voice of a true leader, General Mac Arthur has proclaimed that 'one cannot wage war under present conditions without the support of public opinion...Men will not fight and die without knowing what they are fighting and dying for. In democracies it is essential that the public should know the truth.'"

The enemy will be beaten, not by the military sword alone, but by that invincible weapon which is made out of the strong will and resolute spirit of free peoples. Let not censorship blunt that weapon!"

The Terrible Lesson of Burma

But the British character, if it has a toughness that has served them well frequently in history, has a denseness that is impervious to all warnings. We saw the other day how General Alexander gave the lie direct to the Burma Governor's statement about Burma. But even he had to make a guarded statement after what the Governor of Burma had said. The fact would seem to be much worse than General Alexander would let us know. This is what Mr. W. M. Towler wrote in the *Daily Herald* about the "Quislings in Burma:"

"Burmese guerilla bands are fighting for Japan against us. Burmese snipers are picking off British soldiers. Burmese guides are leading Japanese patrols through the jungle. Burmese spies are giving away to enemy information about our military dispositions. This should make us think. Perhaps we are to blame."

That this was not an exaggerated picture is proved by other non-British sources. This was the news flashed from American Western Group Headquarters, South-Western China:

"An American volunteer pilot, returning here from Burma, said today that native Burmese are killing unarmed British citizens. Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers, he said. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way. Some armed Burmese forces have joined the Japanese. All over Burma it is dangerous for foreigners to move around unless they are armed, and in some

districts the Burmese have even attacked armed Britishers, he continued. Meanwhile the British are feverishly evacuating all large Burma towns, including Prome and Mandalay. Some are leaving by planes, some by automobile and some are forced to walk. I am unable to estimate the number of British killed, but I believe it is not few."

Mr. Towler attributed this to the many years' policy of bungling in Burma. "After the last war—in which Burmese troops fought gallantly with us—movements began in Burma for constitutional reform, separation of Burma from India, Dominion Status, complete independence. Instead of this we gave them years of wrangling and all the rigmarole of a Round Table Conference. . . . Administration by a governor with carefully chosen counsellors and a hand picked senate to curb the House of Representatives was still regarded by Burma as an insult. . . . Even with war in the heart of Burma today, it may not be too late to admit our faults and remedy our lethargy. It is certainly not too late to learn the lesson of Burma and apply it to other countries—India above all—whose loyalty might still be made as firm as that of the free nations of our commonwealth."

That was on March 25th. In the same month wrote the *Philadelphia Record*:

"The British did not have enough confidence in their hold over the natives at Hongkong or Malay to arm them. And from Burma come eye-witness accounts of Burmese picking this moment to settle old scores with the British by killing Europeans and rioting while the Japs advance. India may be next. . . . Steps can be taken even at this eleventh hour, to erase the memory of past bungling, to make India a full partner in the struggle. The cure will take boldness and imagination. But nothing less will do the job." And the paper added a line about the policy at home (America): "Are we striving, at home, to avoid those mistakes of discrimination, prejudice, inequality and stupidity that may haunt us in the time of trial?"

But the British reply was the Cripps proposals and two months after India's rejection of them comes the expansion of the Viceroy's Council. When Sir Stafford was in India, he said, in reply to a question by journalists, that Britain was lacking in man-power. She certainly seems to be essentially lacking in brain-power and woefully lacking in boldness and imagination to cure past "bunglings". They seem, on the contrary, to delight in piling bungling upon bungling and insult upon insult.

Forced Labour

In fact, there is no improvement anywhere in the traditional policy of Britain to which Mr. Churchill is wedded. Look at this paragraph from 'A London Diary' in the *New Statesman and Nation* for March 14: "Forced labour in Kenya, now passed by the Colonial Office, creates an acute moral dilemma for those people who want to conscribe the native races of the Empire in return for a charter of self-government after the war. I discussed it with an honest-minded member of this group: 'Do you believe that Kenya natives

are needed for war production and not to supply slave labour for employers too bad and farmers too incompetent to attract or pay workers?' 'No.' 'Do you suppose that the Government will offer them—or the natives of Southern Rhodesia, where forced labour threatens also—adequate land, equality of economic opportunity, the abolition of the colour-bar?' 'No.' "Do you consider it possible that self-government will be offered to the Kenya peoples?' 'No.'"

The Common Man

The same writer says that the British "Man-in-the-street" is now seriously discussing the British Empire. He describes his talk with a clerk in a big wholesale business. "Weeks ago, when the Japanese were still only at Kuala Lumpur, we talked about the future of India. George was dubious. 'Give them their freedom, and what happens to our money? That's what you have to look at. What happens to our investments if they get free?' Last week I saw him again. Said George; 'We'll have to give freedom to the Indians. We'll have to give it to the whole blooming Empire. I don't blame the Empire. Wanted to make our money like every one else. But the point is, they've rumbled us. They've got wise to us. And what I say is, it is never any use going on with a game like that once you've been rumbled.' His chief anxiety now is as to whether the Government is 'smart' enough to see, as he does, that 'they've seen through the trick, and the quicker we drop it the better.'"

But Mr. Churchill and Co. are too big to learn anything from the British "man-in-the-street", as they are too arrogant to learn anything from the lesson of Burma.

A Desperate Game

Let us understand the distinction between 'a National Government' and the Government of a 'Free India' that Gandhiji has been asking for. Of course there is no 'Free India' and no national Government, but a national Government even when it comes into being becomes part of the British war-machine, whereas Free India is free to decide the kind of help she can give as an ally, and free even to negotiate honourable terms of peace and stop further carnage. The national Government at best would carry round its neck the halter of the British-war methods and the British war-policy. In an article written about two months ago I tried to show that such a national Government, however satisfactory it might be, was incapable of fighting a successful military war against the Nazis and the Japanese. There is evidence accumulating in favour of this contention every day. Apart from the disloyalty of the Burmans in Burma there was superior military knowledge and strategy on the part of the Japanese, there was utter unreadiness in Singapore, and now spacious grounds are being given for the terrible disaster in Libya. There were tanks we are told—the strength being 7 to 5—there was full military equipment, superior air power, and at least equal man-power; and even Mr. Churchill has failed to explain why then the

British failed. The *New Statesman* almost anticipated the disaster months ago and gave the reasons too: "Round this matter of tanks revolve our own fortunes in Libya. Rommel has swept us out of Bengazi and far beyond it (1) because he was reinforced by sea, (2) because he can repair his damaged tanks in the field, and (3) because his tanks are superior to ours. Our forces were (1) originally inferior in numbers to his and do not seem to have been reinforced; it looks (2) as if we were no better able to refit an injured tank than we were in the last campaign; (3) finally, the gums of our tanks, to say nothing of other defects, are inferior in calibre and range to those of the Germans. The bravery of our men cannot compensate for such defects. The mismanagement of this campaign ought to lead to a searching inquiry into its causes. Are we even now attending to the business of refitting tanks at the front, and to improvement of their armament and the modification of their types? It seems that Lord Beaverbrook has concentrated on quantity to the neglect of quality." The Londoner wrote in his diary the same week: "One reason for Rommel's success in Libya is the efficiency of his organisation for tank repair. While British tanks are often abandoned when temporarily knocked out, Rommel has a special device for hoisting damaged tanks on to the lorries in the night, rushing them to the repair shop, and getting them hastily refitted. British tanks only occasionally have more than one life, German tanks seem to have nine. This may be explained by the fact that Rommel is himself an engineer and mechanic. An American magazine not long ago gave a fascinating account of Rommel refusing to accept any one as an officer under him who could not build a whole tank with his own hands. The article describes the astonishment of a Prussian officer of the old-fashioned monocled type searching for General Rommel and finally discovering him in a tank repair shop, stripped to the waist, working like a mechanic somewhere in the intestines of a tank."

And let it be remembered that Mr. Eden said that Singapore was lost by choice, because they had to concentrate their best equipment in Libya. And we now know the best equipment that they had. When we think of this, can a national Government ever get militarily ready to fight the Japanese and the Nazis?

It is a desperate game. Instead why not leave India to her own resources and thereby gain a moral victory before the world, and be saved the ignominy of a very probable disaster?

Sevagram, 5-7-'42

M. D.

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HARIJANS AND SAVARNAS

These notes on the relations between Harijans and Savarnas, like similar ones made a few weeks ago, are a blend of bitters and sweets.

The question of the District Board school in Napa, a village in Kaira District, had been hanging fire for a long time. The Savarnas would not allow Harijan children to attend the school, and the school had to be closed down according to the Government Resolution made in this behalf. There was plenty of bad blood in consequence, the School Board had to be dragged into a court of law, and so on—facts which happily are now a thing of the past and with which the reader need not be bothered. Wiser counsels have at last prevailed, and the whole dispute has been amicably settled. A few leading men of the village and members of the local Panchayat have made it up with the School Board, by giving a written undertaking to admit Harijan children to the school, and five Harijan children were admitted as soon as the school was opened.

* * *

A Harijan hostel was opened the other day by Shri Morarji Desai at Surat. This will serve the Harijan students attending schools and colleges in Surat and hailing from villages in the District. There is accommodation, for the time being, for 20 students, but it is hoped that with more applicants desiring accommodation the citizens of Surat and the public workers there will not find it difficult to provide additional accommodation.

* * *

A vexatious and sorry chapter is that of the crematorium at Vile Parle, a Bombay suburb. Among Harijans, as amongst Savarnas, there are certain sections of people who bury their dead and some who cremate them. The crematorium at Vile Parle was sought to be used last year by some Harijans; the orthodox people who believed they were in charge of it objected; in heavy rains the poor people could not carry the dead to any other place; they broke open the lock and burnt the dead there. A fierce controversy arose, and the matter is now before a court of law—the men who claim to be members of the committee in charge of the crematorium having lodged a criminal complaint against the Harijans. This was done months ago, but we know the law's delays. Death however knows no delay. Neither should Religion or Duty know any. So even whilst the case is pending, Harijan Sevaks have dared to help the Harijans who have been cremating their dead, taking whatever risk may be in store for them.

When this matter was referred to Gandhiji last year, he had not the least hesitation in advising Harijan Sevaks to take the lead and give what help they could to the Harijans. There is room for patience and education of public opinion in the matter of temples, less in the matter of wells, but practically none in this matter. Harijans themselves may not be ready to take risks, but Gandhiji advised that it was the duty of the Harijan Sevaks to lead them and be ready to receive the first blows

on their heads—if that was to be their lot—or receive the heaviest punishment.

It is a matter of gratification therefore that reckless of the law's delays some of the Harijan Sevaks and Congress workers of the place have been unremitting in their help of the Harijans who, only a fortnight ago, cremated their dead in this public crematorium. *Quidquid multis peccatur inultum est.* (An offence that is committed by many is no offence.)

It may be possible to find some plausible ground for excluding Harijans from the use of private wells, or from one's private house or temple. But it is impossible to find any such ground for excluding Harijans from a crematorium. There should be no private crematoriums save such as may be owned by Rajas or Maharajas, though one cannot conceive even these being polluted by cremation. All who carry the dead are supposed to be polluted and have to have a purificatory bath after the cremation is over. Where then is the difference between a Harijan and a Savarna? And so far as the dead are concerned, Fire consumes all impurities without caring for caste or creed. To exclude Harijans from a crematorium is not only to disgrace one's religion but to insult the dead and insult the all-purifying Fire. One wonders if even Fire can purify such intolerant exclusion.

* * *

A fire broke out in a village in the Nagpur district on the 22nd May and most of the houses of the Harijans and the *Kotha* of the Brahmana part proprietor of the village were completely gutted. A number of people from the surrounding villages collected to render what help they could. A Harijan entered the compound of the other part proprietor—a Kunbi and Lambardar and Mukadam of the village—and picked up a brass pot for fetching water to quench the fire. On this the said Lambardar and his son and other members of the family including women belaboured the Harijan mercilessly. It is said that strongly resenting this the crowd took the law into their own hands and retaliated by beating the Lambardar and his people. The Lambardar would give no help or facility to the people and would not allow people to draw water from the well which did not belong to him but to the other part proprietor who was a Brahman and then absent from the village. Luckily a female member of the latter's family arrived and invited every one to use the well. Had it not been for this timely help, the fire would have taken long to get under control.

The Lambardar who received a beating from the crowd filed a complaint against the Mahar, charging him with theft. The police investigated the case and found the charge to be unfounded. The Harijan is still said to be suffering from the injuries he received at the hands of the Lambardar.

It is difficult to withhold one's sympathy from the Harijan and the crowd who belaboured the Lambardar in retaliation.

Sevagram, 5-7-42

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Conflagration

Q. — What is the difference between Nero and yourself? Nero was fiddling when Rome was burning. Will you be also fiddling in Sevagram after you have ignited the fire which you will not be able to quench?

A. — The difference will be known if match, if I have ever to light it, does not prove a 'damp quib'. Instead of fiddling in Sevagram you may expect to find me perishing in the flames of my own starting if I cannot regulate or restrain them. But I have a grouse against you. Why should you shove all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an overdue debt and that, too, just when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life?

In their schools the rulers teach us to sing "Britons never shall be slaves." How can the refrain enthuse their slaves? The British are pouring blood like water and squandering gold like dust in order to preserve their liberty. Or, is it their right to enslave India and Africa? Why should Indians do less to free themselves from bondage? It is misuse of language to liken to the action of Nero that of a man who, in order to escape living death, lights his own funeral pyre to end the agony.

Andhra Separation

Q. You have, no doubt unintentionally, rather adversely affected Maharaja Kumar Sir Vijaya Anand's popularity in Andhra by your ridiculing a part of Sir Vijaya's letter on Andhra separation; and do you regard Andhra separation in the same light as Pakistan, as some people in Andhra fear you do?

A. You are right in saying that I ridiculed Sir Vijaya's letter. I could take that liberty with him. But nothing could be further from my thought than to discredit him in any way. What reflection there was was meant for his informants. As his letter showed, he had given me the impressions of his informants. Everyone of us is liable to be misled by our informants. He is among the very few zamindars who have taken up the popular cause. It will be pity if the Andhras, by putting a wrong construction on my letter to him, fail to avail themselves of his services.

As to the second question, there can be no comparison between Pakistan and Andhra separation. The Andhra separation is a redistribution on a linguistic basis. The Andhras do not claim to be a separate nation having nothing in common with the rest of India. Pakistan on the other hand is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be treated as a wholly independent sovereign state. Thus there seems to be nothing common between the two.

Sevagram, 5-7-'42

An Omission

At the Goseva Sangh Conference of 1st February last held at Wardha I said: "Chaunde Maharaj... whilst he accepts my facts and even arguments..... says, 'what about the public sentiment? They somehow want to save the cow from the butcher.'" And again, "But the good Chaunde Maharaj wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead cow's hide is sacred."

Shri Chaunde Maharaj of Govardhan Sanstha, who was present at the meeting, came to me and told me that the remark could not be applied to him as he did not favour the purchase of cows from butchers and did not discard the use of dead cattle hide. I told him that I would mention his assurance in *Harijan*. He reminds me that the report has appeared without the mention and it is likely to harm the Institution. I am sorry I forgot to mention the conversation in *Harijan* and that my omission caused grief to the Maharaj. As to the use of dead cattle hide, I may point out that it is not enough not to discard the use of dead cattle hide, it is necessary to discard the use of slaughter hide and insist on the use of dead cattle hide where slaughter hide was used. Probably that is what his letter means but has failed to convey.

Sevagram, 3-7-'42

M. K. G.

Notice

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has been recently opened at Surat (Kanpith Bazar) and at Rajkot (Savani Buildings, Sadar). Copies of the three weeklies, *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and *Harijansevak* (Hindustani), and of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshana ane Sahitya*, as also our publications, will be available there. The subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be received there.

Manager

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